

THE LIBERATOR
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BOSTON.
FRIDAY, AUGUST 17, 1838.
ADDRESS,
Boston: at the Bazaar Tabernacle, in the city
of New York, on the first of August, 1838, by request
of the People of Color of that city, in commemoration
of the emancipation of 600,000 slaves on
this day in the British West Indies, by
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

THE LIBERATOR

VOL. VIII. OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD, OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND. NO. 83.
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.
FRIDAY, AUGUST 17, 1838.

And the same thing is true of other giant minds. Politic men! Not that they love freedom less, but that they love popularity—that weed of the dunghill—more! Verily, they shall have their reward. Let them refuse to hold this glorious jubilee, if they will. Their conduct demonstrates, that they have shivered souls, which ever may be the size of their intellects. LIBERTY, like her great author, God, is no respecter of persons; she chooses the foolish things of the world to confound the wise and weak things of the world to confound the wise and weak things of the world. If the rulers in Church and State are not prepared to celebrate the most important victory she has ever obtained over oppression, it is because they are recreant to her cause. Honor to whom honor is due!

Before I proceed any further, let me call the attention of this assembly to a remarkable exemplification of the insincerity and effrontery of the anti-slavery party in this country, as manifested this day. What have they not done, for the last five years, to cast odium upon our principles and measures? Have they not ridiculed, without mercy, our demand for the immediate abolition of slavery, as wild, chimerical, monstrous? Has not the idea of 'turning loose' so many unlettered, penniless, homeless creatures, seemingly filled them with horror? Have they not a thousand times declared, that a sudden emancipation would fill the land with blood, and be the signal for a war of extermination? Have they not attempted to show, that slavery is a divine institution, which has been approved by God, from patriarch Abraham to patriarch

McDuffie—and is therefore perfectly consistent with Christianity? Have they not claimed to be the only true philanthropists—the best friends of the slaves—the tender-hearted among mankind? Have they not represented the slaves as incapable of taking care of themselves, and vehemently affirmed that their simultaneous liberation would bring forth another St. Domingo tragedy? Most certainly, all this they have said and done—and a great deal more, equally creditable to their common sense, benevolence and piety! Now, how do I prove them to be inconsistent, if not hypocritical—reckless of consequences, if not hard-hearted—lukewarm friends of humanity, if not her treacherous foes?

I will show you. It is known throughout the country, that an abolition experiment is to be made this day, in the British West Indies, on a scale such as the world has never witnessed. All the slaves, belonging to the following islands, rose up this morning without a chain upon their limbs—free men, free women, free children—without an owner to oppress them, without a driver to order them into the field, without any restraints upon them, except those which bind all the subjects of Great Britain, whether at home or abroad! The cart-whip, the thundery yoke, the fetter—the all infernal devices of slavery to extort unpaid labor and servile obedience—have disappeared as by enchantment!

Tortola emancipates 5,400; Montserrat, 6,200; Nevis, 6,600; Dominica, 15,300; St. Vincent, 23,500; Barbadoes, 82,000; Jamaica, 323,000; making a grand total of 462,100!

Now, I ask, if the apprehensions expressed by our opponents are not feigned; if they are sincere in their opinions; if they really credit their own assertions; if they are not actuated by selfishness; if they truly love their neighbors as themselves; if their humanity is not restricted by geographical boundaries;—if, in fine, they believe that to 'turn loose' the twinking of an eye, large masses of imbruted slaves, will bring destruction to the human race, and certain destruction to the nations of consistency and humanity, are they so imperious, so entirely indifferent, so absolutely unconscious, as it were, in full view of what is now transpiring in the West Indies? How shall we account for their conduct, except at the expense of their understandings or their hearts? Why has not a national fast been ordered? Why do they not toll the bells, and sing funeral dirges? This they do, if the President of the United States dies a natural death! And, lovers of mankind as they are,—can they do less when thousands of planters are given up to indiscriminate butchery, with their wives and children, by 'turning loose' upon them a troop of infuriated slaves? At least, can they not refrain from their usual merriment, or wear upon their countenances a semblance of concern, or affect to be horror-stricken? Do they not know that the abolitionists are looking them full in the face, and taking notes of their behavior, for the very purpose of recording it in print? Have they 'remembered to forget' that this is the first of August? Verily, it would seem so—or else that they have been playing the part of hypocrites, for a long time past, for a very bad purpose, and with very bad success? How is it with the newspaper press? Are there no editorial warnings, no lachrymal forebodings, no communicated eulogiums of grief and horror? Why are not the Journal of Commerce, the Evening Star, the New York Gazette, the Commercial Advertiser, the Courier and Enquirer, the New York Observer, the Christian Advocate and Journal, dressed in deep mourning? Or have they already imprinted upon their pages, too many black marks, in testimony of their regard and sympathy for the robbers of God's poor, to render their multiplication necessary? BLACK MARKS indeed, which no chemical liquid shall be able to efface, nor any element destroy. If these shrewd, far-sighted, inflexible editors shall tell us, as a reason for their present composure, that they mean to wait until they learn how the experiment works in Jamaica, before they commit themselves by shedding too many tears, and uttering too many groans, why then let us acknowledge that they have method in their madness; but while we commend their discretion, let us inquire after their consistency. Though they have been prophesying 'evil, and only evil, and that continually,' of any and every scheme of immediate emancipation,—though they have advanced it as a self-evident proposition, that bloodshed and ruin must be the inevitable consequence of letting all the oppressed go free at once,—it seems, after all, that they know nothing about the matter! What was beyond all doubt with them, a short time since, is now full of uncertainty—they wait for intelligence! It is possible that the thorn of emancipation will produce some very fine grapes—that the thistle of liberty will grow some very nice figs—that a bad tree will bring forth some very choice fruits! They wish to do nothing rashly, for they are civilized and christian men, and as unlike the wild and

headlong abolitionists as lynch-law is worse than common law! For once, they are puzzled—their vision is dim—they falter in their steps—they really cannot tell how many throats will be cut, or whether any mischief will be done this day, in the emancipated colonies. Every thing with them is in suspense—problematical—between daylight and dark! They can hardly discern 'men as trees walking!' Yet these are the keen scrutators, the severe admonishers, the discerning moralists, the profound logicians, the quick-sighted seers who perceive the end from the beginning, 'looking before and after'—these, I say, who are now stumbling, doubting, waiting, in relation to a result they have all along asserted to be inevitable, are the very men who have held up the abolitionists to public scorn as fools or madmen, blind as to 'consequences,' ignorant of the relation of cause and effect, and incapable of understanding that bad principles and bad measures, if successful, (or, in other words, the sudden overthrow of the slave-system) must inevitably lead to violence and bloodshed! O, most surely, they are the people, and wisdom will die with them! But the sooner such wisdom perishes from the earth, the better for mankind. So ends the serio-comic farce enacted three hundred and sixty-five times a year, (Sundays not excepted,) for the last five years, by our unfortunate opponents. In what a pitiable plight do they stand! For, in one hour, all their ingenious sophistry, subtle jesuitism, metaphysical hair-splitting—their confident predictions, their false accusations, their legal postulates, and their biblical perversions,—together with the blood-red scourges and galling fetters of that detestable system* which they impiously labored to uphold,—have been broken in pieces by the sledge-hammer of Freedom, and consumed in the fire of immediate emancipation!

Now, look at the abolitionists, and observe with what exultation they greet this most eventful era! Where are they, but where they should be—crowding the public halls and temples of worship, to return thanks to Almighty God for the wonderful salvation he has effected for a people 'peeled, mated out, and trodden under foot!' There is no fear in their hearts, no doubt in their eyes; for, in their reverence for the immutable principles of justice, they looked well to CONSEQUENCES. For a series of years, they have been proclaiming in the ears of oppressors, in season and out of season, the duty of instantly releasing all their slaves from bondage. They have marshalled together all the facts of history—the experience of all ages—the testimonies of the wise and good in all nations—proofs without number, and strong as holy writ—to demonstrate the impolicy, danger and wickedness of exercising oppression over the needy and defenceless. On the score of personal safety, of self-interest, they have strenuously urged the planters to give up their impious claim of property in human flesh. They have indignantly scouted the notion, as opposed to reason and revelation, as equally unphilosophical and unscriptural, that it is perilous to entrust men with their inalienable rights. They have challenged their opponents, in vain, to produce a single instance, in any quarter of the globe, from ancient or modern history, in which disastrous consequences have followed the removal of heavy burdens from the backs, and galling yokes from the necks of the oppressed, however feeble in intellect, or darkened in mind, or unprepared to enter upon 'liberty and the pursuit of happiness.' 'Give freedom to all whom you are unjustly retaining in bondage,' they have said to the masters, 'and, as true as the Lord liveth, there shall no evil befall you. Not a drop of your blood shall be shed, not a fragment of your property shall be destroyed. Instead of darkness, you shall have light; instead of tribulation, joy; instead of adversity, prosperity. For barrenness, you shall have fertility; for wasteful, indolent and revengeful serfs, provident, industrious and grateful laborers; for liability to servile insurrections, perfect exemption from danger. The execrations of your victims shall be turned into blessings; their wailings, into shouts of joy; the judgments of God, into mercies. Your peace shall flow like a river, for there shall be none to molest or make afraid. For the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it!'

Well,—God be praised!—the planters of Jamaica have this day resolved, with perfect unanimity, to try the experiment. Are the abolitionists troubled, that they have been taken at their word? Have they not some forebodings, that all will not turn out so well as they have predicted? None at all. They know whereof they affirm, and accurately perceive all the consequences of the emancipation act. They have taken a bond, not of fate, but of Hix who cannot lie, and thus have made 'assurance doubly sure.' Hence it is, that, unlike those who have deprecated the measure as suicidal on the part of the planters, they do not feel constrained to wait until they get intelligence from the West Indies, before they can pass judgment upon it. Hence it is, in various parts of the United States, throughout old England, among the highlands of Scotland, and in the Emerald Isle, they are now swelling the grand chorus of liberty.

From every giant hill, companion of the cloud,
The startled echo leaps to give it back aloud!
Now let 'the base of heaven's deep organ blow,
And all that is harmonious in heaven or on earth
take up the thrilling strain,—Glory to God in the highest!

Our cautious opponents will perhaps admonish us not to be premature in our exultation. Perhaps they will wisely remind us, in the form of a homely adage, that it is not best to halloo until we get out of the woods. Sanguine as we are of good results, we may be woefully mistaken; and therefore we shall be on the safe side, to follow their prudent example—WAIT FOR INTELLIGENCE! Now, these admonitory suggestions prove the blindness, ignorance and skepticism of those who aspire to be our teachers and guides. If they would disabuse their minds of prejudice, and calmly listen to the voice of reason, and believe what God has spoken, they would feel assured that tranquillity, order and happiness are reigning throughout the emancipated colonies. The difference between them and ourselves, in this matter, is, that we walk by faith, they by sight. We believe—therefore we rejoice! They cannot yet

see—hence their reluctance to change their position! Now, was there ever a people so low or brutal as not to rejoice in being set free from bondage? Is it not morally impossible, that the same act which fills them with gratitude and joy, should inflame them with revenge? If they will patiently suffer themselves to be

'Yoked to the beasts, and driven to their toil,'—if they will not lift up a finger in self-defence, when they are horribly scourged, branded with hot irons, defrauded of their earnings, sundered in traffic like cattle, and subjected to the most dreadful torments,—is it to be supposed, for the twentieth part of a moment, that when they are released from such a condition, and raised to the level of our common humanity,—by the consent, too, of their masters,—they will engage in butchery, 'cry havoc, and let slip the dogs of war,' and make human blood flow like water? Nay, can it be rationally apprehended, that they will resort even to very slight acts of violence? On the contrary, it is not to be taken for granted, AS A MATTER OF COURSE, that they will manifest the liveliest gratitude, be docile as lambs, perform their paid labor with alacrity, and make each field and hill vocal with melody? Instinct is a great matter—what says instinct, in reply to these interrogations? What says common sense? What says history? What says holy writ? Are we, then, presumptuous in observing this day as a joyful festival? Run we any hazard of being premature in uttering our acclamations? Is it not our opponents, who occupy a ridiculous and painful attitude? Why, what has been done in the West Indies, thus far, to fill them with perplexity,—thus to shake their theory of right and wrong,—thus to make it impossible for them to predict, whether joy or sorrow, order or anarchy, gratitude or revenge, a reign of peace or a hurricane of fire and blood, is to be the consequence? In the first place, all the laborers in the seven islands which have been already specified,—comprising nine-tenths of the whole effective population,—are henceforth to receive wages for their work, instead of getting no compensation, as heretofore. They are no longer to be subjected to drivers, or coerced with the cart-whip, or driven under foot! No man may strike or oppress them. Their labor is to be voluntary—they may work as many or as few hours as they please—they are free to make their own contracts, to choose their own employers, to acquire and possess as much as industry and economy will enable them. Slave mothers are no more to be compelled to toil from dawn of day to the approach of night, in the open field, beneath a burning sun, dragging their infants with them. They may now give heed to the cries of nature, and administer to the wants of their helpless offspring, without being lacerated for their motherly tenderness. In short, honesty is to take the place of robbery, voluntary action of brute violence, recompense is to go hand in hand with toil, wages are to be substituted for the whip. Under the slave-driving system in the Colonies, it appears, by returns made to the British Parliament, that not only was the natural increase of the slave population cut off, but, in the short space of eleven years, there had been a decrease to the frightful amount of FIFTY-TWO THOUSAND EIGHT HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-SEVEN, or about FIVE THOUSAND ANNUALLY! Now this wholesale butchery is to cease—the laborers cannot be worked to death with impunity. We turn to our opponents, and ask, whether this single item is not something gained to the cause of humanity—something that warrants, unattended by other favorable circumstances, a jubilee like the present? Well, they don't know—honesty may prove to be the best policy—fair dealing and humanity are very good things, if they only turn out well in the end! They shake their heads doubtfully—they fear the experiment will prove ruinous to both the employers and employed—at all events, they wait for intelligence! Let us try again.

In the second place, the claim of property, whether absolute or conditionally, in the bodies and souls of half a million of our race, expired by limitation at twelve o'clock last night, and can never be renewed. There are to be no more slave auctions—no more soundings of fathers and mothers, husbands and wives, parents and children, lovers and friends, by the slave speculator. A legalized system of adultery, incest and concubinage is ended, and upon its ruins is established the marriage institution, sacred to virtue and love! The broken links of parental, filial and conjugal ties are reunited in a golden chain. O, it is dreadful to contemplate the reeking licentiousness, the abounding impurity, the Sodom-like bestiality, generated by that foul system which abrogated marriage, removed all virtuous restraints, and offered premiums on pollution! Blessed be God, it is over the downfall of that system we are met to rejoice. Its lava-tide of desolation is stayed, dried up, forever! Now, we turn once more to our opponents, and demand, whether this is not a signal gain to the cause of morality—a triumph of purity over the filthiness of the flesh, in which all the virtuous in heaven and on earth may participate, never doubting as to the 'consequences,' either in time or in eternity? Well—they are not prepared to answer! They hope for the best, but fear the worst! 'All's well that ends well!' They wait for intelligence!

In the last place, (for it is needless, almost endless to recapitulate the benefits of this great measure,) the most formidable obstacle to the progress of Christianity,—greater than any which the Man of Sin, or the False Prophet, or Pagan Juggernaut, has been able to cast in her path,—is taken out of the way, so far as relates to the West Indies; and the gospel of Christ, not in isolated texts or perverted expositions, but in its completeness, can now be preached with all boldness, where but a short time since the missionaries of the Cross were cast into prison, or compelled to flee for their lives, and their chapels burnt to the ground. The statutes are repealed, which made it a crime worthy of stripes, imprisonment, or death, to give light to the blind, knowledge to the ignorant, succor to the perishing; which prohibited instruction in letters, the establishment even of primary schools, the circulation of the scriptures, and all measures for intellectual cultivation and improvement; which estimated the soul of a slave as the life of a beast, denied the immortality of our race, claimed to be of higher obligation than the commandments of God, and authorized all manner of inflictions upon our common nature. Ample protection is now given

against violence and wrong; all restrictions against the liberty of the press, of speech, and of locomotion, are taken off; those who, yesterday, had no will or power of their own, may today go where they please, give free utterance to their thoughts, consult their own wishes; all the avenues to human elevation and infinite progression are thrown wide open; the bible may be read and circulated without let or hindrance; mind, intellect and heart are all permitted to develop themselves in the sunlight of liberty. Again, therefore, we turn to our opponents, and ask whether here is not an incalculable gain to the cause of justice, virtue and religion? Can the 'consequences' of this change of administration be otherwise than good and glorious? May not the followers of Progress, the friends of Philanthropy, the disciples of Christianity, rejoice over it with all certainty as to its beneficial effects, even though not a day has passed since the experiment was put into operation? O, they are not inclined to answer—they are really puzzled to know whether more harm than good will not result from it—by the first of September, they hope to be able to form an opinion—they wait for intelligence! True, the slave system has been cast into the bottomless pit—but then, they are persuaded a state of freedom is pregnant with far greater evils! True, the slave can no longer be bought, sold, mortgaged, branded, cropped, manacled, lacerated, murdered with impunity—but then for this merciful exemption from suffering, it is to be apprehended that they will cut their masters' throats! True, learning may now be encouraged, schools established, the gospel enforced, extraordinary privileges enjoyed—but then, as a consequence of this state of things, plantations may be ravaged, the dwellings of the planters fired, and the awful scenes of St. Domingo witnessed! O, well may Bedlam laugh at such stolidity, and shudder at such insensibility! What shall we think of such men? or what shall we say of them? I cannot be that they are in their right minds—or, if they are, that they are sincere in what they affirm. Ignorant they cannot be, for they make high pretensions to wisdom and knowledge. Talents they certainly possess; but, talents, though angel bright, may be turned into foolishness by perversion. It is impossible to believe them to be honest, unless at the expense of their understandings. They deny self-evident propositions. They proclaim that all men are created free and equal, and endowed with inalienable rights, and then mob us for enforcing their own doctrine! They contend for the liberty of speech, and then subject us to lynch law for exercising that liberty! They expatiate upon the blessings of freedom, and then burn down our dwellings for proposing to extend those blessings to millions of our countrymen who are kept in the house of bondage! But enigmatical as their conduct may at first appear, it finds an easy solution. They despise, loathe, repudiate the colored man as a MAN—though they value him, cling to him, extol him, run after him from the borders of Texas to our northern boundary, as a SLAVE. They hate the colored race, cordially, unceasingly, implacably—not all of them so much as to desire their perpetual enslavement, but hate them to an extent which requires their banishment from the soil. They wish them out of sight—out of the land—out of the world, except they will go to Liberia, and then they will be pretty sure to be out of it in a very short time. The fire of their prejudice is unquenchable—all the waters of the Atlantic cannot extinguish it. They declare it to be an offence against good manners, good morals, christian decorum, and republican equality, to treat men irrespective of their complexion—nay, subversive of the American Union, and destructive of the peace of Zion! They maintain that it is 'an ordination of heaven,' as unalterable as the laws of nature, that there should be no intercourse between the white and colored races, except as masters and slaves; hence, emancipation and expulsion must be inseparable. The conformation of the black man is to them a source of merriment. They sometimes affect to doubt whether he belongs to the genus homo—whether he is, in fact, a member of the human family. If they have enslaved him, the color of his skin is invaluable to identify him, in case (as will most probably be the case,) he shall take to himself legs, and run away. If he is free in their midst, his complexion is a nuisance. They send a man to the hospital, if he has the small-pox or cholera; but, if he has a sable complexion, he must go to Liberia! And very poor medical attendance will he receive when he gets there, though he will need it greatly. The cholera may be cured—but a sable skin admits of no remedy! Besides all this—a very large portion of our opponents are slaveholders—and it would be very strange if they were not found in array against us; for, whoever sides with them in this great controversy, takes part against their victims—that is, against justice and humanity. They may, indeed, as we trust they will, come over to us, in imitation of the cheering example which has been set them in the West Indies, but we can never go over to them. Now, subtract from the ranks of the anti-slavery party, all who own slaves, or have mortgages upon slave property, or who are in any way interested in the system—all their relations and acquaintances who sympathize with them—all who cherish the brutal spirit of caste towards the victims of American barbarity—all who love their denominational or political party more than mankind—all who are seeking the loaves and fishes of office in Church or State—and all who are licentious, profane, Jacobinical in their spirit—how many unprejudiced, tender-hearted, and high-spirited souls would be left? Be they few or many, they are fast coming over to the side of bleeding humanity. But, controlled by such influences, passions and interests, it is to be wondered at that our opponents, whenever they discourse upon the subject of slavery, and the rights of the colored race, talk like men in a state of lunacy—deny their own faith—insist that two and two make nine, and that twice nine make forty-five—grow angry, spiteful, turbulent—conjure up raw-bone and bloody bones, dire chimeras, and black ghosts—run away from the light of free discussion as sheep-devouring wolves troop back to their murky dens at the dawn of day—substitute rotten eggs for arguments, brickbats for syllogisms, and tar-and-feathers for victorious appeals—burn down buildings dedicated to VIRTUE, LIBERTY, INDEPENDENCE, resort to bowie knives and pistols as their weapons of defence, and imbrue their hands in the blood of innocence! Why, these things should excite no marvel—they are

the natural 'consequences' of such principles. The measures are adapted to the principles, and the principles to the measures. Can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit? Can that which is evilly disposed, which is proscriptive, oppressive, cruel, delight in peace on earth and good will toward all men?

I have said that abolitionists believe, therefore they now rejoice; that their opponents walk by sight, and very short-sighted they are withal. They wait for intelligence! It will come by and by—come to their confusion, let me tell them! Nay—deride the fact as they may—it has come already! Though the sun of this time-consecrated day has not yet disappeared from the heavens—though it is not twenty-four hours since the event we are commemorating took place in a distant island—yet tidings of the result have been received in this city, from high authority, which I am permitted to announce in the ears of the people. They were brought by no human express, and are authenticated by no fictitious sign manual. The messenger is the Spirit of Truth, sent down from heaven, his documents having the seal and signet of the Lord Almighty! What was done last night in Jamaica? At 12 o'clock, precisely, all the bands of wickedness were loosed, the heavy burdens broken, the oppressed set free, and every yoke broken—according to the command of God! What has followed in Jamaica? Its light broke forth as the morning, and its health shall spring forth speedily! Its darkness is as the noonday! It shall be satisfied in drought, and its bones made fat—yea, it shall be like a watered garden, and like a spring of water whose waters fail not. And they that shall be of it shall build the old waste places; it shall raise up the foundations of many generations; and it shall be called, The repairer of the breach. The restorer of paths to dwell in! 'For the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it! Who discredits this intelligence? Who doubts whether the facts are just as they are represented? None who take God at his word—none who implicitly believe that he is faithful, and cannot lie—none but those who are practically infidels! If it be a dream, still, 'the dream is certain, and the interpretation thereof sure!'

But this will not satisfy our opponents; for, as they regard not the colored man, so neither in this matter do they fear God. They want better testimony—the reports of pro-slavery journals and colonization repositories, some four or six weeks hence, respecting the workings of the free labor system: then, peradventure, they will believe, even if it confirms what God foretold would certainly come to pass! They leave fanatics and mad-men to rant about walking by faith: as for themselves, they will take nothing upon trust. They will believe their own eyes. They will see what the Journal of Commerce, or the Courier and Enquirer, or the Commercial Advertiser, or the New York Observer, or the Washington Globe, and other kindred prints say of this affair, and make up their minds accordingly. 'A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush,' say they.

Very well—I will not stop to pick a feather from the wing of that full-blown adage. Let them have their own way in the argument, for whichever path they choose, their escape is impossible. They will hear nothing, it seems, about 'faith,' 'promises,' 'light,' 'darkness,' 'repairs,' 'ruins,' or any such calabazilla nonsense. They are your practical, cautious, shrewd, calculating men. They know what they know, and believe what they believe—among other things, that to steal a sixpence out of their own pockets is a crime deserving the frown of heaven, and condign punishment by the magistrate, but that to kidnap a whole plantation of negroes is no crime at all, but a patriarchal exploit, which heaven smilingly approves! But I press to the point. Between them and us, for a long time past, there has been a warm controversy as to the 'consequences,' that would follow the immediate emancipation of large bodies of slaves, without education, ignorant even of its lowest rudiments. We have maintained, that such an act, if voluntarily performed by the masters, or effected in any peaceful manner, would be safe, bloodless, profitable, and mutually advantageous to all parties. They have asserted, that it would involve both masters and slaves in one common ruin—that the soil would be left uncultivated, the plantations devastated, and butchery be the order of the day—that, in short, it would be, 'chaos come again,' with thick-brooding darkness, and 'thronging horrors!—Now for a practical trial of our conflicting theories. Our opponents very well know, that, four years ago, just such an experiment was made, on a large scale, under disadvantageous circumstances, when there were 15 colonies to 1 white—a most unequal disproportion, surely! In one hour, not less than 300,000 slaves were transformed into freemen! Now let them tell us, whether one of their frightful anticipations has been realized—whether all our happy predictions have not been fulfilled to the letter. Our two—two—three—four years have elapsed since that adventurous step was taken, though the planters might have retained their authority for the term of six years longer. Well, during all that time, has a single throat been cut, or a drop of blood spilt, or lynch law administered in a single case, or an embryo conspiracy detected, or the ghost of a rebellion seen? No. Has the property of the planters been injured to the amount of a farthing? No. Has any plantation been left uncultivated? Have the emancipated slaves refused to work? Have they shown the slightest disposition to be idle, turbulent, or intractable? No. On the contrary, has not the measure been attended with the happiest consequences, in detail and in the aggregate? Yes. Are not the employers (now masters no longer,) enjoying unwonted security, an enviable peace of mind, and a splendid recompense of reward for well-doing? Yes. Are not the employed, (now unpaid laborers no longer,) industrious, economical, orderly, docile almost to a fault, filled with grateful emotions, aspiring after intellectual and moral cultivation, and rejoicing continually over the boon of liberty? Yes—these facts are notorious. How do our opponents get over them? They can neither get over, or under, or around them, nor escape their flaming omnipresence by flight. How is it that cause and effect have ceased relationship—that the best possible result has accompanied the worst possible act—that a fire-brand, thrown into a powder magazine, creates no explosion—that water runs up hill, and a thousand other miracles are witnessed—that the planters are not torn limb from limb, and all their property annihilated—how is it, I repeat, that our opponents have witnessed the laws of nature reversed, (if we may believe them,) their own ingenious theories turned topsy-turvy, and every prediction of the 'fanatical abolitionists' literally fulfilled, and they have made no confession of error, uttered no exclamation of surprise, attempted no explanation of these remarkable phenomena? How is it, that they are so stoical, so phlegmatic, so dumb? I have said that they are waiting for intelligence from Jamaica, in regard to the transactions of this day in that island, before they hail the emancipation act as a blessing. But they WILL NOT WAIT IT, though it shall appear that the very windows of heaven have been opened, and such a blessing poured out that there was no room to receive it. They will be filled with chagrin, with ill-digested spleen, with undiminished hostility to the emancipation of their own down-trodden countrymen. They will behave precisely as they have done in the case of Antigua. They profess to be humane, patriotic, christian men, anxious to see the cause of human freedom advancing in the earth; yet how have they welcomed the

(TOO SEVERE.)

No one can mistake the object of this picture and inscription, on a "Southern Business Card." It is manifestly intended to convince the Southern slave-holder that the "mercenariat-princes" of Philadelphia, are willing to sacrifice principle and humanity, law, order, and decency, for the sake of Southern trade.

It is the meanest and most despicable "business transaction" that has ever fallen under our notice. It would disgrace the vilest vagabond pedler of wooden nutmegs, who ever drove his pedlar-cart across Mason's and Dixon's line. It is the occupying of a niche of infamy which has hitherto been tenanted, and those implicated in

COMMUNICATIONS.

CHelsea ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY

Thus has started into being, another society, which is destined, we hope, to 'grow with our growth and strengthen with our strength.' Chelsea, it may be ob-

Mr. President, the professed object of this Society is to colonize the free people of color on the continent of Africa. * * * * This scheme demands the ardent, the energetic support of the people of the North and the South, whether we consider it as addressed to their interest, their pride, their patriotism, or their benevolence.

South, whether we consider it as addressed to their *interest*, their *pride*, their *patriotism*, or their *benevolence*.

These are terrible words ; I hope we may not annihilated ! To men of peace, and who

CHARACTER OF THE AFRICAN.

CHARACTER OF THE AFRICAN.

Such, too, must not be recollected, is the result of merely educating one generation. What might not be expected from continuing the process through many generations? It is a well known fact among philosophers and observers of human nature, that in educating a man, you educate his grandson, you educate his whole posterity, you pave the way for his future indefinite advancement, you create an hereditary predisposition, which is confirmed, as far as it is cultivated, in each successive generation, till it results in what is called that genius and spontaneous talent which we sometimes see run in families, and which is said to be born with them. What, therefore, with the acknowledged native talents of the black, might we not expect from following up this principle, from lifting off his head and heart the load of prejudice which has weighed him down for ages, from clearing up the soil of his mind, and letting in upon it the full light of education and christianity? Who can tell what might be the result, what orators, poets and statesmen may yet adorn the African history, and shed their redeeming radiance round the evening of the world?

When John Randolph, the American orator, Senator and slaveholder, travelled in England, and was twitted with American slavery, and the part he had in it, he replied, 'We have got the wolf by the mouth, and are afraid to let go.' Had he lived to this time, and read Thome and Kimball's *Journal*, he would have known that this was an idle fear, that it is the wolf who has got hold of the lamb, and *will have to let go*.

CALL FOR ANOTHER BRITISH PHILANTHROPIST.

My object, in the present communication, is to propose that the invitation be extended to another individual, whose character and services need only to be known to ensure a cordial response to this suggestion, and of whom Wm. Lloyd Garrison in his address delivered at New York on the 1st inst., says, he is "unrivalled in his munificence, in his spirit of investigation, in his abhorrence of cruelty, and in his efforts for the complete extinction of West India slavery—yet living in the freestress of manhood, one of the world's loveliest ornaments, and most useful of mankind." This individual is JOSEPH STURGE. He went out to the West Indies to collect information, and since his return to England, has been one of the most efficient, devoted, and indefatigable laborers in the cause. Let the call go forth, then, to GEORGE THOMPSON, CHARLES STUART, and JOSEPH STURGE!!!

B.

ANOTHER RESPONSE

Thy friend, MARY ANN PECK.

Resolved, That we heartily concur in the motion made by brother Johnson in the Liberator of the 27th ult., viz. that the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society be requested, on behalf of the abolitionists of the United States, to invite Charles Stuart and George Thompson to return to this country, and that we would hail with delight, the re-appearance of those noble philanthropists and devoted friends of the slave upon our shore.

Great excitement prevails here owing to the arrest of Mr. Thomas Lewis, of this place, by Mr. David Ruggles of the New York Committee of Vigilance. Ruggles has charged him with kidnapping three negro boys, who, by the assistance of Captain Wilson of the steamboat New Castle, he has sold to slavery. L. was ordered to find bail in \$5000, in want of which he was lodged in gaol.—*Jour. of Com.*

Lynching. A man named John Miles, who hails from Cincinnati, received 200 lashes in Adams county, Miss. for endeavoring to entice negroes away.

OLIVER JOHNSON, EDITOR PRO TEM

MR. TRACY'S CHALLENGE.

pecting Washington when his ingenuity could no longer furnish him with plausible arguments against the common-sense doctrine, that slaveholding is *man-stealing*. It was a base attempt to escape the force of logic by an appeal to the prejudices and passions of the people. *Such craft* would better befit a demagogue at the eve of an election, than a minister of the gospel at the editor of a religious paper, in a grave and important discussion. The Scribes and Pharisees, when they could neither refute nor resist the doctrines of the Savior, endeavored to entrap him in his words—draw out of him some expression which would expose him to the vengeance of the people. Mr. Tracy, finding himself in a similar predicament, appears to be following their example. It would doubtless gratify him exceedingly to have abolitionists apply the epithets 'robber' and 'man-stealer' to Washington, that he might thereby have 'whereof to accuse' them before the court of Judge Litch.¹ Then, if he could not refute their doctrine, he might at least do what would suit him quite as well, '*overwhelm them with public indignation*.'

This is our doctrine, and Mr. Tracy is welcome to draw from it whatever inference he pleases respecting our opinion of Washington. If he says that according to it that distinguished individual was a 'robber and man-stealer,' very well; but let him remember that it was the doctrine of President Edwards as long ago as 1791.

acy—is the doctrine of President

REV. ARTEMAS BULLARD.

INSTALLATION.—On Wednesday evening, June 27th agreeably to the order of the Presbytery of St. Louis, by the committee appointed, the REV. ARTEMAS BULLARD was installed pastor of the Presbyterian church in St. Louis.—*N. Y. Observer.*

lard was formerly Secretary of the

sustain slavery by becoming the pastor of a slaveholding church'; and that too in the very city from which Lovejoy was driven by an infuriated and bloody populace, for the crime of 'remembering them that are in bonds as bound with them.' Mr. Bullard is a recreant New Englander, to whom may be applied the declaration of scripture—'When thou swearest a lie, then thou consentest with him, and hast become a partaker with adulterers.' Such men will find New England too hot for them before long, and if they persist in giving countenance to the vilest system of slavery beneath the sun, it will be at the expense of their reputation for piety and integrity.

11. The Democratic Republic of Congo

EXCELLENT DEVICE. The Pennsylvania Freeman, speaking of the manner in which the "glorious" 1st of August was noticed in that city, says:

A handbill giving the intelligence which the paper was afraid to publish, was circulated throughout the city, in the morning, and attracted much attention. A large portion of the readers, if we might judge from the expressions of indignation upon it, had never heard before of West India emancipation. One honest citizen expressed his fears that the emancipated slaves of the British islands would march straight into Pennsylvania and overrun the State."

We forgot to mention last week that a similar handbill was circulated here, which excited considerable interest. Some read it in silence, and some expressed themselves highly gratified with its contents, while others vented their rage in oaths and curses, and fell from their polluted lips the most vulgar denunciations of the "niggers."

TESTIMONY OF A REPENTANT SLAVE
HOLDER.

Again: it is wonderful how the *crisis* in the North is subjected to imposition in regard to the treatment of slaves. For myself I can *clasp* to the parent contradictions found in writers who have no slaves, and who are not slaveholders. I am a slaveholder, say some, 'treat their slaves as you would be treated if you were in their place.' Now this may be true in certain States and localities, but it is not true in all. I have been settling since all questions of treatment, except to refer to the *body*. And yet, while the *majority* of slaveholders are in the South, the *majority* of slaves in that section will be treated with cruelty. This is the truth in many such cases, that while there may be thirty men who may have *one* slave apiece, and that a house servant, a *negro* man, may have ten slaves, the *majority* of the hands, half-worked, whipped excessively, and whipped cruelly. This is what I have often seen. To prove case, to show the awful influence of slavery upon a master, I will mention a Free-byanian (elder, who was a member of the church, and a member of the master. I was called to his death-bed to write his will. He had what was considered a favorite *house* slave, a female. After all other things were disposed of, the elder passed, as if in doubt what to do with the *slave*, and then said, 'I will give you the *slave* if you will let my liberty' fall from his lips; but who can tell my prize when I heard the master exclaim, 'what did I do with *that* I am afraid she will never be treated as a master never enough for her! Shall I say that she was a *slave*?' and then he said, 'I will give her to the church.' The latter steadily receiving the *elder's* Saviour's dying love from the fonder!

17. *_____*

CONVENTION QUESTION IN KENTUCKY. We have seen
er cherished more than a faint hope that the
tempt to call a Convention in Kentucky to amend the
Constitution of that State would prove successful
the first trial. The influence of Mr. Clay is understood
to be against the measure, and the prejudices and
to be overcome are very extensive and powerful.
find in the Emancipator, however, the two following
paragraphs from Kentucky papers, from which it
seem that the case is not a hopeless one. God grant
the measure may succeed, but whether it does or
great good will result from the discussion of it.
The Warsaw Patriot of July 28, has the following
remarks:

The prospects of having a Convention to meet

The prospects of having a Convention to amend the Constitution, within the last five or six years

have brightened beyond all expectation. Several of the central papers have come out in favor of it, and the subject now excites general interest all over the State. The Commonwealth, which a few weeks ago predicted the Convention question dead and buried, has now become alarmed, and the last number enters the post loud and long, and again sounds the abolition battle. In order to deter the people from their interest in the duty; but it won't take this time. You know how the people in the spring with the duty; but they do see through your desigus, and the tail is now coming back, gathering strength and force as it proceeds. The groaning of the aristocratic editor of the Commonwealth is cheering to us, and to conventionists every where. Take courage, friends,—be active and vigilant at the polls, and all will be well.

The Covington Free Press says:

One of the Lexington papers opposed to Convention says, 'it will be much mistaken if you enemies in the State give a majority in favor of it.' We will say that paper what the old woman said to the parson, who was shaming her for quarrelling with her husband, 'you're a flesh.' 'Lord, parson,' said she, 'if you will come along by here some of these days when we are truly at it, you'll think there are more than twenty of us.'

We predict that 'more than twenty' counties north of the Kentucky river will go for a Convention. In our own county 'the Campbells are coming' with a sweeping majority.

A DILEMMA.

We have frequently heard that ourself in particular was making the Advocate a "red hot abolition paper." We heard so this morning; and in a few minutes it comes a subscriber and "wants his paper stopped." Why? Because he is an abolitionist, and our paper does not do its duty to the good cause of abolition. He is so complained of for being an abolitionist by one, a non-unionist by another, and so on without end. It is no wonder, then, but still, if our "censures" were not so general, we will say as Dr. Baldwin did, when preaching to a candidate in Essex, and after some eloquent remarks expressed with his services, "I'll try to do better."—*London's Advocate, published at Portland, Me.*

This is really a pretty predicament for a religious

itor to find himself in at this time of day! Just the

to preserve of all those *prudent*, *judicious* reductions, and to prevent suit both sides, or to please one side without offending the other. Has not the editor of the *Advocate* the sagacity enough to see that he is trumpeting his own disgrace? What would he think of an editor of a religious paper who should complain that he could not satisfy his readers whether he was in favor of immortality or of *prinking*? Would he not say that such an editor must be a miserable trimmer, like the character described by Pollok, whose constant aim it was to get praise from both saints and sinners,

‘Changing his garb unseen, a good repeat!’

For shame, Mr. Advocate!—cease your attempts to suit both sides in this great controversy between truth and falsehood, light and darkness. Show yourself manly in displaying your true colors and then you will no longer complain of being misunderstood.

